

THE C.H. DOUGLAS CREDITER

FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM



“DETACHED INVESTIGATION HAS CONVINCED ME, FIRSTLY THAT THE REAL LINE OF DEMARCATION IN THE WORLD IS CULTURAL, NOT ECONOMIC, AND THAT ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IS CONSCIOUSLY PRODUCED AND EMPLOYED TO PROVIDE TROOPS FOR AN ATTACK ON ANGLO-SAXON (AND GOIDELIC) CULTURE.”

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FROM WEEK TO WEEK



... the resurrection of problems arising out of the Treaty of Versailles and the Dawes scheme, together with the well-nigh unbelievable political situation in Italy and Russia, all point towards a world situation not less problematic than that which is obvious in the internal policy of nearly every country, not excluding Great Britain.

It will probably be agreed that some idea of the lines of demarcation in this situation would be helpful to those who take it as seriously as I, at any rate, think it should be taken. In the first place it is obvious enough that mere national labels will not help us much. The problems which confront the world are not primarily geographical. So far as any one adjective will describe them, they are fundamentally cultural. That is to say, they relate to objectives, to ideals of life and its uses, and the conditions under which individuals will cooperate to reach these objectives.

The Inescapable Conflict. Major C. H. Douglas.

THE NATURE OF TRUTH

BY P. R. MASSON

It is doubtful if the solid unyielding and permanent nature of reality is fully appreciated. Our understanding and presentation may be imperfect because of the inherent difficulties of measuring and representation.

The “truth” depends on a number of factors: the understanding and accuracy of observation or measurement, the limitations inherent in words which affects the efficiency of representation at two points, first when the reality is expressed in words and secondly at the point where the words are converted back into a picture of reality in the mind of another individual. The accuracy of the picture will depend equally on ‘understanding’ at both stages.

Another factor is that there is commonly an accepted and understood, degree of accuracy; “about 6 inches”- may meet many general requirements of everyday life but is not nearly accurate enough if we are giving the measurement of an aeroplane engine component about to be machined.

At other times it can be said that absolute accuracy is both possible and customary in everyday use; the address of a house, to be of any service, must be given in sufficient detail so that it positively identifies one house only.

So that “truth” can be said to be a representation of reality expressed with sufficient accuracy to meet the requirements of the case. Any other representation is false

and is a lie if the intent to deceive is present or if the refusal to use readily available information is deliberate. It is a lie to represent speculation, without verification, as established fact (reality).

Two men on different ships writing their diaries on the same day as they crossed the 180th meridian might describe their re-actions, the one as the happenings of Monday, the other as those of Tuesday—and both truthfully. This is simply a very special case where there is particular difficulty in correct representation for which there is a perfectly sound explanation. It is a complete misconception to deduce that a difficulty in representation in any way affects either the uncompromising nature of the movements of the sun or the position of the ships any more than it affects the overwhelming importance of representing correctly, *i.e.*, being truthful.

Perhaps the now generally known and accepted statement that the earth revolves about the sun is a good example of the unyielding nature of reality. If it is a fact today, as most of us believe, then it was just as much a fact when it was generally held that the sun revolved about the earth. An indication that we have the truth in this matter is found in the fact that navigation is based on a knowledge of the ordered movements of terrestrial bodies, of which this particular piece of knowledge is a part. With out further investigation we know that navigation can be said to “work” and nature would certainly

with-hold this approval if reality in these matters has been misunderstood or misapplied.

The fact that navigation “works,” by which it is meant that it does what we expect of it, not only confirms the correctness of deductions but it proves the truthfulness of the chain of individuals who interpret reality in tables and formulae, in the printing and in the use of the information as much as it depends on the truthfulness of the chronometer used.

But it is talking to the converted to stress the importance of truthfulness to navigators and people in such direct touch with the ‘Laws, of Nature.’ The contrivance we have under discussion can be described as the “social mechanism” and it is a contrivance that does not “work,” it does not give mankind the conditions he desires and no stretch of imagination can even pretend that there is an appearance of tranquillity and efficiency and an absence of indications of stress and strain which characterises a contrivance which is working efficiently. There is no reason to suppose that this failure is anything but a failure in our diligence and honesty in learning and using the ‘Law of Rightness’* which governs man’s needs and his obligations to his fellows.

Politics, economics, religion and education have a direct bearing on the social mechanism and it is in such activities we must expect untruthfulness. Such terms as the need for “tolerance” in religion and the “right to one’s opinion” require closer examination than they usually receive. The ‘Law of Nature’ and the ‘Law of Rightness’ are utterly unyielding and intolerant and any untruthfulness in interpretation or in using our knowledge of reality must bring inevitable punishment—probably on whole nations. The navigator who was untruthful or inexcusably ignorant of certain facts or even careless would neither expect nor receive toleration so that it is at least suspicious that the claim should be so often advanced in other activities. When it is a question of religious beliefs which are but

speculation there can be no objection to toleration provided they are not represented as anything else but speculation.

The “right to one’s opinion” so often invoked in the social world—in contrast to the world of reality known to scientists, sailors, engineers, farmers—is a highly dangerous tolerance. It can be stated in general terms that a difference of opinion, on matters of fact which are verifiable, indicates ignorance or dishonesty on one side or both. Ignorance may vary from being excusable to be so inexcusable that it shades into dishonesty.

It is certain that even if men can be induced into an easy compliance in matters which directly affect the social mechanism—nature will show no mercy: millions of men and women are today taking punishment for the lack of diligence and honesty in learning and representing the fundamental laws of Rightness. If, by showing *less* toleration, we, can force a standard of diligence and honesty on our politicians, clerics, economists, educationists, writers and journalists, as high as we expect in navigation, there is no earthly reason why the social mechanism should not be made to work as satisfactorily as navigation.

Looked at in this way it appears to be merely false sentiment to be tolerant of falsehood as it is likely to be much easier and cause less suffering to expose falsehood at inception rather than allow it to become incorporated in powerful and superficially impressive organisations with a vested interest in the maintenance of the falsehood which is the very basis of the dangerous influence and importance they have acquired.

The test of over-riding importance of any expression of ideas is really—Are they true? Do they conform to reality? If they do not they are, at best, but futile words or, at the worst, dangerous falsehood and require exposing as soon as possible. “No man is

entitled to his opinion unless he believes it to be true,” is a precept which would be accepted in all those activities of man which can be said to “work”; it is only when we come to those activities with a somewhat direct bearing on

the social mechanism that we find such loose expressions as that “every man is entitled to his own opinion” encouraged and, quite naturally, the result is chaos.



“All these men were animated by ideals. None of them ever had any money, only a fraction possessed any economic security and all the future held was a tenuous solvency, an obscure retirement or sudden and horrible death at sea. They nursed the popular illusion of their age, that men only work for money and material possessions whereas they actually toiled from principle and often with passion....”

Wm. McFee in *Watch Below*.

THE BRIEF FOR THE PROSECUTION

By C. H. DOUGLAS.

CHAPTER XVIII

When Karl Marx (Mordecai), in his Message to the First International in 1870, observed, "The English are in capable of making a Socialist revolution, therefore foreigners must make it for them," he placed on the record a statement of high historical and practical value.

Whatever the ultimate result may be, it is a simple statement of fact that social disturbance, economic and industrial distress in Great Britain can in almost every case be traced to alien influence. The native English, in particular, have their own methods of dealing with a distasteful situation, as any one intimately conversant with the tragic-comic breakdown of the alien billeting system in 1939 can testify. But revolution is not one of them. The immense stability underlying race homogeneity is the main factor in this characteristic, a sense of proportion contributes its quota, and a curious corruptibility, which is always ready to accept an immediate benefit rather than persist in a long-term vision, helps to make the way of the social incendiary one of successive disappointment.

But this latter feature has taken on a new aspect in the present century. Social revolution has itself become a profession in

place of being a religion, paying, in its higher branches, and subject to compliance with a code, high dividends both material and social. The effect of this has been to create, primarily in London, but to a less extent in all the larger towns, what can only be described as an alien culture, in the main bureaucratic, but linked with mechanical industry by the Trades Union official. This culture also has its own type of Art. It is not an exaggeration to state that if the whole population *outside* these circles were to cease work, the social revolutionaries of the Fabian and other varieties would starve to death in a month, while on the other hand the disappearance of the socialists and bureaucrats would hardly be noticed except with general relief.

Yet it is beyond argument that the bushy and somewhat foreign mannered tail wags the rather bewildered British dog even if contributing little to his sustenance. The indigenous culture is one of tolerance combined with a strong desire to mind one's own business directly, rather than by pooling processes. Once given access to the sanctions of the state, an alien culture can be imposed on such a national temperament with comparative ease. Whether it can be maintained is another question, but it has been demonstrated that the

centralised state, once achieved, is difficult and costly to dislodge.

Without carrying the German conception of *Blut und Boden* to the absurd lengths characteristic of its protagonists, only the type of mind which has absorbed the abstractions of Bloomsbury would dispute the large element of truth which it embodies. A nation is amongst other factors a culture, and while a culture probably contains many components which do not derive from the soil, it is certain that no culture which is not rooted in the soil and racially related to it has the character of permanence. The astonishing resistance of nationalism to the massed forces of international finance, cartelism and Freemasonry seems to have put this question beyond further argument, and the chameleon-like element in Jewish behaviour no doubt has its explanation in the Diaspora.

If this conception be accepted as broadly representing reality, then the efforts of the foreigners mentioned by Marx, and their employees in various gainful occupations in this country, take on a somewhat different and more sinister aspect.

We have not to deal with a mere propagandist endeavour to introduce the latest improvements into administrative machinery, which might conceivably be well-intentioned, even if demonstrably wrongheaded. The spiritual life of the country and the nation, which is its culture, is being subjected to a deadly attack. There can be no peace until one side or the other is defeated.

No civilisation is tolerable which suppresses agitation from within its own borders against an existing condition, however mistaken that agitation may be. *But no civilisation can survive which will permit members of an alien culture to settle within its borders in order to make the exploitation of grievances real or fancied into a highly lucrative profession.*

It is remarkable that the British Dominions Overseas are in the highest degree sensitive to any suggestion of interference from the *official* British Government in London, while tolerating barely concealed attempts to impose, *via* specially trained representatives of the London School of Economics working in conjunction with the Central Banks, a comprehensive tyranny entirely foreign in its origin and character.

It is not difficult to apprehend that naturalisation laws have a vital bearing on this matter, and that naturalisation laws are affected not merely quantitatively but essentially by the relation of the culture of the immigrant to that of the country of his choice. Apart from a few points on the sea board, for instance, the culture of the North American Continent in the seventeenth century was that of the North American Indian.

Immigration has wiped out that culture, not wholly or even principally through frontier massacre, but by the sheer incompatibility of the indigenous culture with that of the immigrant. The immigrant himself was in the main a variant of the general European culture although of differing national stocks, and a culture with recognisable European features was characteristic of the United States until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as it is in Canada today. A consideration of the history of American expansion lends a grimly humorous aspect to the solicitude for India now so prevalent in the United States.

The immigration and the culture which is being forced upon Great Britain by every device of propaganda and covert political, social, and economic pressure is not fundamentally European, is not accompanied by immigration of European stock, and is as incompatible with the native culture as was European culture with that of the North American Indian.

It is just arguable, and it is very loudly argued, that a small influx of foreign strains

can be absorbed without great disadvantage. But it must be small, and it is essential that it should be absorbed. Our alien population is not small, (its dimensions are systematically falsified), it is increasing, and it is not being absorbed. In spite of strenuous denials it is certain that the dominating influence in the State at this time is alien in culture, whatever the particular passport of its protagonists may be.

M. Leon de Poncins, whose book, *The Secret Powers behind Revolution*, is one of the most conservative enquiries into the subject, remarks "There is a greater amount of artificiality in revolution than is believed. This is not solely to be imputed to the Jews. It is not certain that they form its most numerous elements, but, thanks to their racial qualities, they are the strategists and directors of the movement, from which they, almost alone, derive advantage" (p. 239).

That is to say, it is only important to the powers behind revolution that there should be unrest; given unrest, control of publicity, propaganda, and educational facilities, if can be invariably directed to the advantage of the unseen manipulators.

It is clear that such organisations as the Royal Institute of International Affairs have no antagonisms with P.E.P.; and P.E.P. derives ostensibly from the Fabian Society. Its first Chairman was Sir Basil Blackett, of the Bank "of England." The Royal Institute of International Affairs is the successor to the shadowy "delegates" and "experts" to the Paris Conference of 1919. At this Conference, Paul Warburg of the Federal Reserve Board headed the U.S.A. delegates, and Max Warburg, his brother, of Warburg Bank, Hamburg, represented Germany. In May, 1919, the "experts" met and decided to form an international institute, and in 1923 this institute was given Chatham House, in St. James Square. The subscribers to it, amongst others, were Thomas Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co. (£2,000), Sir Abe Bailey, the South

African gold millionaire, Sir Otto Beit, the Carnegie Trust, Imperial 'Chemical Industries, the Bank "of England," Prudential Insurance Company, N. M. Rothschild & Sons, Schroeders, Rockefeller Foundation (£8,000 per annum), Reuters News, *etc.*

Anyone who has contemplated the changes of front of the Communist movement must be satisfied that it is an extension of international financial intrigue although quite possibly its dupes would react violently to the suggestion.

According to the Melbourne (Australia) Herald, "Communists in Latin America no longer attack Dollar Diplomacy or British Imperialism" (1/11/44). It will be remembered that Viscount Snowden, whose chief concern was that the rich were not poor rather than that the poor should be rich and that England should be ruled by minor revenue officials, remarked that the Bank "of England" was the greatest moral force in the world. It would be a naive student of British politics who would suppose that an obscure Excise official could rise to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and a Viscounty, and his wife be appointed a Governor of the most powerful propaganda organ in the world, the "B," B.C., if their views were regarded as a menace to the power of "the 'City,'" or their policies incompatible with those of the powers in command of patronage.

The position is admittedly one of great difficulty. It was recognised by William Cobbett probably one of the greatest Englishmen of the past three hundred years. His general contention, implicit if not explicit in his writings, is just as true to-day as it was a hundred years ago. Almost any social and economic system is or rapidly becomes tolerable if it is homogeneous and indigenous. The old saying "Let fools for forms of Government contest. That which is best administered is best" is profoundly untrue as it reads, but it does contain an element of potential truth—that the system will rapidly be modified *if it is native*. In 1290 Edward I

expelled the Jews from England, and twenty years afterwards suppressed the Knights Templars, the direct ancestors of Freemasonry. It is significant that the Laws of England which are regarded as 'good law' to the present day unless specifically abrogated date from Edward I.

The modern British individual in the main has a totally false idea of the intelligence of his ancestors of that date. Seven hundred years is but a moment in the life of a race, and the inspection of documents relating to the management of either England or Scotland in the time of Edward I will convince anyone that we have perhaps not learnt so much of real consequence as we have forgotten. But it is certain that we are faced with a situation which was threatening England with disaster then, and it ought to be obvious that the first step to take is to restrict drastically alien immigration, and to make naturalisation a rare and exceptional concession.

The next step is to submit to a mental cold bath on the meaning of 'hospitality.' We are the laughing-stock of large numbers of our 'guests' and of all of their recent hosts. For the last few years our 'guests' have been ordering our dinner, and telling us that plain living, watered beer and hard work are good for us, though not for them. A new note has crept into the discussion. The frenzied appeals to save the victims of Hitler's tyranny are giving place to scarcely concealed threats. Unless we mould our foreign and domestic policy as instructed, we are going to regret it. The import of, for instance, an article in the *American Mercury* of March, 1944, which remarks that "London must be made aware that Palestine is not a purely domestic question. The United States of America endorsed the Balfour Declaration, and would share the 'breach of faith'... Other countries have interests in the 'Grand Central' of the world. Britain [sic] does not have the only or *the last* [my emphasis] word in the Palestinian situation," is obvious. (In passing, it may be

noticed that the geographical and strategic position of Palestine is being stressed as a reason why, say, Madagascar will not be accepted as a substitute national home for Jewry.) Mr. Emmanuel Celler, Democratic Congressman for New York, informs us that the release of Sir Oswald Mosley from prison, to which he had been committed without trial, is not within our competence. The suggestion is that the internments under Regulation 18b were made under alien orders.

The memory of most of us goes back to the period of the "war of nerves" of 1936-39, and the part played in it by the Sudeten Germans and racial minorities in general.

History is full of examples of the suicidal folly of allowing unassimilated minorities of any description to attain substantial influence. Whether it is too late to deal with the matter comprehensively on the principles, if not by the exact methods, of Edward I, is a large question. But that it has to be dealt with if we are to avoid the fate of Poland, does not admit of argument.

PLANNING THE EARTH

(IV)

By **GEOFFREY DOBBS**

Despite the immense efforts openly being made to bring it about, the establishment of a World Empire is commonly represented as 'inevitable' and due to the 'trend' of evolution, or the operation of mechanical or other impersonal forces.

This, of course, is no more than the propagandist use of suggestion calculated to destroy the will to act.

The attainment of this goal is regarded as so far from inevitable by well-informed persons deeply committed to its pursuit, that among themselves they often frankly reveal their despair of reaching it in the face of the incorrigible natural instincts of ordinary people. Thus they also admit that they are engaged in a battle in which their wills are pitted against the will of the majority of mankind.

The acute danger arises from the widespread ignorance of the power already obtained by these plan-imposers to create, through their control of monetary and governmental mechanisms, a state of affairs compared to which a surrender to their will seems preferable, and to consolidate the ground so gained for their policy by a massive reconstruction of our material environment. In every case the alternative presented has been a false one. Preparation for war was not the only

way out of the Slump, and a New World Order is not the only possible outcome of a war against Hitler's New Order in Europe.

It might be supposed that in the face of the War danger, no other emergency could be of comparative gravity. But for all the death, misery and destruction which they bring in their train, the great wars do not, as advertised in advance, destroy the human race, or even the material basis of our livelihood, which, so far as technical resources go, is usually on balance greatly increased by wars. They seem to be carefully controlled, emergencies, the chief function of which is to enforce the surrender of rights and liberties by the use of fear on a large scale.

The world-wide emergency brought about by the impoverishment and destruction of the soil is of a different nature, and menaces the very means of our existence on the planet. At the very least we are threatened with a return to that state of scarcity which the economists, who have a vested interest in it, were forced grudgingly to admit we had escaped from in the Poverty-in-Plenty days of the 1930s. As usual, we are being told that the surrender of further freedom of action to centralised control is the only cure, and the situation is so grave that the correct measures must be taken, whatever the cost, even if it should include a return to serfdom—a

probability clearly envisaged, at least for the African native, __by Jacks and Whyte in their book *The Rape of the Earth*.

The affair is being represented as another War Crisis: Mankind is waging and losing a desperate battle against Nature, and is in dire need of an efficient General Staff if disaster is to be avoided. This picture is, of course, entirely false, except in so far as we have been forced into the position of waging war on Nature, and particularly on the soil, by the operations of this same would-be General Staff. We are faced with poverty and starvation only to the extent that we persist in this course.

The destruction of the soil has not been brought about by the innate errors of free individuals, who naturally tend to co-operate with their environment, but by bad farming enforced by the dictates of the remote holders of agricultural debt, and more recently, by Government Departments. The worst effects have been caused by extensive farming with low yields, e.g., yields of the order of 12 bushels of wheat to the acre have destroyed the prairies of North America, whereas 32 bushels is a fair average for this country, and is quite compatible with the maintenance of a high level of fertility. It is worth noting, in passing, that "the average terms of farm tenancy in the United States is under two years." (Jacks and Whyte: *The Rape of the Earth*, p. 232).

It is now being said and realised that a large part of the 'glut' of the pre-war period was due to the exploitations of soil capital, but those who go on to conclude that there was, and can be, no plenty from the soil except at the cost of its fertility, lose sight of the fact that the 'glut' was produced, not by good farming with high yields, but by bad farming with low yields, and also, that the product was not consumed, but destroyed and wasted. The squandering of the world's capital resources on destruction, whether of coal, petroleum or soil, is the hall-mark of that unnatural power

which alone can coerce men into such suicidal behaviour.

Debt, insecurity of tenure, extensive farming, low yields, and the destruction of soil capital all go together, bringing in their train the reduction of the land worker to the status of a serf. The examples are not only to be found in all the new countries of the world in which soil erosion is now a dominant factor, but very strikingly in the history of the decline of Imperial Rome, in which the concentration of the money power was accompanied by the replacement of small owner-farming by the *latifundia*, large slave-worked estates, and the creation of the Libyan desert by extensive over cropping to provide bread doles for the city proletariat.

On the other hand, a free flow of credit, security of tenure, high yields, intensive farming with an adequate return to the soil and the maintenance or even increase of soil fertility also go together. The examples are Lombardy in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Netherlands in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and England in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It can be no accident that all these countries are small and densely populated, and that at the height of its agricultural prosperity each in turn was the financial centre of the world. It is not to the credit of the modern financial system that in its earlier stages only one country at a time was enabled to till its soil properly, and in its later stages, none; but the fact provides some evidence that before the accumulation of irredeemable debt had counterbalanced it, easy access to money had something to do with the maintenance of soil fertility.

The destruction of English agriculture by the Debt System during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century is indeed amply portrayed by William Cobbett, who' despite his astonishing foresight, can scarcely have foreseen the lengths to which the

process would be carried in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, not only in England but throughout the world, reaching its culmination in the dust bowls of North America and the giant tractor farms of the U.S.S.R.

Much as our land has suffered, and is suffering under the attacks of city creditors, monopolies and Government Departments, we are not so far down the slope of infertility as these countries. The 'future,' so widely advertised as being the exclusive property of the 'new' countries whose seething populations are rapidly transforming them into deserts, actually lies with those people who have learnt, and retained, the arts of intensive, and conservative, agriculture, and have succeeded in incorporating in them, without damage to their primary purpose of maintaining soil fertility, those modern discoveries in engineering and biology which have been found to be useful.

Far from corresponding to the prevailing picture of a worn-out old country, supported by her young, vigorous offspring, the Dominions, and unable to keep pace with her two huge and virile neighbours, the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., Great Britain compares favourably with the others in the retention of a fair proportion of her pristine strength in the soil. In the whole world there is not another piece of land to compare in climate, soil, and intrinsic fertility with North Western Europe, the cradle, and the home, of modern rotational agriculture. In the huge but semi-arid 'new' countries there are still, especially in the U.S.S.R., large reserves of soil fertility to be tapped; but after that nothing but the thriftiest conservation agriculture can keep back the desert.

In addition, it would seem that both these vast countries are ripe for an imperialistic phase, and the clash between them which is confidently expected by our socialists as well as by Wall Street, is not only likely to weaken them further, but will prevent the adoption of

the small scale, intensive, individual farming methods which alone can build up the land. It is not denied, of course, that 'Planning' methods, vast engineering works, dictated conservation farming, *etc.*, a sort of imperialism of the land, may delay the process of erosion for a long period provided there is no change of policy in the controllers—but at best it is a defensive fight, all the measures are negative, only the individual who is secure in his tenure of the land can find the interest and the will and the energy to keep up, let alone build up, its fertility. You cannot *enforce* good farming by laws, restrictions and penalties. Such an idea can arise only from a childish misconception of the complexity of the links between men, animals, plants, micro-organisms, and the soil.

It is idiotic to suppose that you can bring about balanced biological relationships by law; yet it is this idiotic idea which is being 'put over' by our planners and scientists.

Our soil, in the British Isles, is now in very great danger.

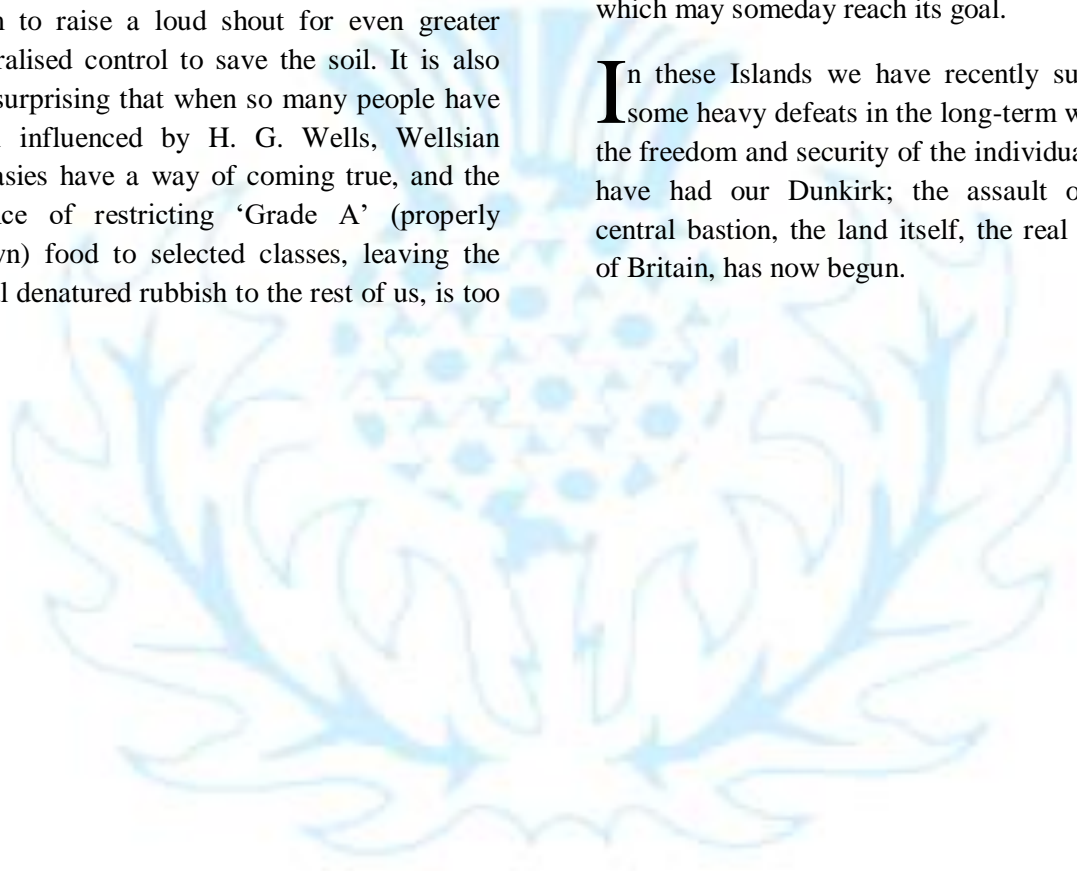
Its fertility, maintained, and even built up, over centuries, and buffered in recent years to some extent by the large imports of food from abroad, must by now have suffered serious inroads. The demands on it during two Great Wars have been great, and will be likely to remain permanently greater than before this War, as rite eroded countries may soon not have the surpluses to export. Several decades of chemical 'manuring' have now begun to produce their effects in impoverished soil, diseased crops and stock, and poor quality products, a fact which seems to be denied only by those associated with the Chemical Industry and the Laws Agricultural Trust, which latter first made its reputation by demonstrating the increase in yields to be obtained with artificials. Meanwhile the Ministry of Agriculture has, during the war forced the application of heavy dressings of artificials throughout the country.

At the same time, though it is still not considered 'respectable' for a scientist or agricultural specialist to criticise chemical farming, and any who venture to do so immediately 'lose caste' as cranks (the muck-and-magic school!), there are signs that the Planners—as evidenced, for instance, by the space devoted to the subject in the *New Statesman*—have their eye on the possibility that the critic isms may be true after all. When the disastrous effects of the present policy have become too blatant to be denied any longer, it will be quite according to plan for them to raise a loud shout for even greater centralised control to save the soil. It is also not surprising that when so many people have been influenced by H. G. Wells, Wellsian fantasies have a way of coming true, and the chance of restricting 'Grade A' (properly grown) food to selected classes, leaving the usual denatured rubbish to the rest of us, is too

good to be missed by them. It is said to have been noticed already in some places that the chief clamourers for compulsory pasteurisation of milk are also the first to get on the special list for natural milk.

If we allow our soil to be destroyed we shall, with our dense population, -inevitably become a vassal nation; but, on the other hand, if there is any hope, anywhere, for the soil, and for the people who live on it, it is in North Western Europe, the cradle of good farming, and of that development towards democracy which may someday reach its goal.

In these Islands we have recently suffered some heavy defeats in the long-term war for the freedom and security of the individual. We have had our Dunkirk; the assault on the central bastion, the land itself, the real Battle of Britain, has now begun.



THE REVOLT OF INTELLIGENCE

By Ezra Pound

V

I am about as much interested in the Irish Republic as I would be in a proposition to set up the Nation of the Cherokees with text-books of the original language, in the bad lands of Oklahoma. I take it that there is no topic, at the moment, more soporific and generally boring than the topic of Ireland *as Ireland, as a nation*.

On the other hand, if Dublin, or for that matter Calcutta, or Mainz, or Clermont-Ferrand, or Bilbao, or Citta del Castello, chose to set itself up as a centre of civilisation, the entire world would lend an ear and very possibly two ears and ten shillings yearly subscription.

If Ireland, Dublin, Bilbao, Canastota chose to produce an economic thinker, or even a literary luminosity; if any of these places chose to show itself alive to Italian agricultural guilds; the proposition to issue bonds against the earning capacity of railway employees; the loan of capital without interest, and the more serious endeavours of contemporary painting and writing, the same locality would almost at once assume an importance out of ratio with its mere geographic size and position.

Moreover, this importance would excite no just hostility.

There are several score of men in Europe who, given two dozen chosen companions and funds equivalent to the often-mentioned "cost of the late war for one day," could, or, at any rate, should, be able to set up a centre of civilisation preferable to any this era provides. I should not suggest a desert for the site, nor too remote a locality, like Taihiti; but let us say Antwerp, or Leyden, or Pavia. (Personal predilection for some English-speaking village, say, Exeter, or Lyme Regis, with fast service to London and Paris.)

Had fancy if you like, but Salisbury was once larger than London, and in no prehistoric era. Human memory is so short that only "pedantic" persons can conceive an era when Portugal was a world-power.

The opportunity to make such a centre is by no means denied the Irish merely because they are Celtic and mercurial; any more than it is denied the Americans because they incline toward enthusiasm and the cinema; or the British because they tolerate the "Lon don Mercury," or the French because they eat snails. True, the French and English run the chief circuses at the moment; and a group of nature-fakers pretend that a third, or perhaps several dozen, such circuses exist in the hesperidean continent. Japan is also inviting

distinguished guests, offering them a great deal of hard work and wholly insufficient honorarium; but still, making tatonnements.

I am, of course, in a peculiar position. Were Rihaku alive I should go to China to visit him, and I should find his being a Chink no impediment to our conversation or to my pleasure therein. I am one of those people whom Wm. Hohenzollern used to call Landlose, or some kind of -lose geselle.

I am racially fifteen parts English and the remaining sixteenth part Celtic; and I was born in a country where the Anglo-Saxon stock is now said to be in a minority. I am American in so far as all my progenitors of whom I know anything whatsoever arrived in that country between 1630 and 1650; this means that I am racially alien to the mass of the population in the Central Eastern States of America, wherein I passed most of my youth, for I take it that the mass of this population is either of continental or of mixed origins. I was also brought up in a district and city with which my forebears had had no connection, and I am therefore accustomed to being an alien, and it is just as homelike for me to be an alien in one place as in another. It is possibly easier for me to shake off certain prejudices than for most men; to whom a league of peoples is offered.

What we want is not the League as proposed, but an International Chamber, as distinct from a small committee of men sent from governmental pocket boroughs of each country; we want a larger body elected by direct vote of the people, let us say, one representative to every five, seven, or ten millions; no nation having less than one representative; these men elected for, say, five years, with moderate salaries, and to be ineligible for office in their own countries during their tenure of office as international delegates, and disqualified for such national office for at least five years thereafter, if not permanently.

This body should sit not less than six months per year; should have no power of force but only of persuasion; not a matter of mandates and commands, but purely a moral power.

Any man who received the vote of a half million people anywhere on any particular issue should have the right to be heard by this Chamber for half an hour, and further at the pleasure of the Chamber.

Nothing could be further than this from the League of Nations as proposed by the "Big Four." An international Chamber is too important an affair to be based merely on a detestation of the Hun which cannot be maintained for more than fifty or one hundred years save by artificial means. I am as ready as the next man to see the Kaiser hung, drawn and quartered, but one should not be blind to the probable duration of national loves and hates. You can be ready to torture the man who has tortured you or your brother or your friend in a German prison, but you cannot be made to extend that hate to some other man of a different district, of different features, and maintain that hate indefinitely. You cannot even shift the emotion you may feel about Tirpitz and apply it to Ebert. Hatred of Germany will, according to men's natures, endure for ten years or a lifetime, and may even descend to men's children in a certain number of cases, where the hatred is real and has an immediate cause; but the hatred bred by the newspapers is flimsier stuff than this.

This stimulated emotion was probably necessary to win the war, but a lot of it was only "for the duration." I am not preaching a sermon on forgiveness; this is simply a recognition of human limitation. The Hun has counted on it already, perhaps estimated forgetfulness rather too highly. The realist will try to find the true ratio, the balance between humanitarian optimism and cynicism.

All I contend is that a permanent Council will have to deal, *sometime*, with the dying down of present animosity. At the present moment Lloyd George is probably more trusted in this country than is Clemenceau in France or Wilson in America.

A League of Nations backed up by force is a danger; its chief danger is that every local dispute may produce a world conflict. A League of Nations with the power in the hands of a small committee appointed by Governmental inner cliques in each nation is a peril; on the basis of The New Age's demonstration of the recession of power from the people. A League of Nations, whose sole visible being should be a large Chamber of Deputies, bearing the same relation to individual nations that the United States Senate bears to individual State Governments in States where the senators are chosen directly by the people, should be a force of international understanding, a moral force constituted in recognition of the futility of violent means.

Few nations would care to withstand the decisions of such a body, were these decisions given by any solid majority and with a demonstration of justice. But as for personal delegates of Mr. Wilson, and personal delegates of Cabinets, no. One prefers a League anti-septically without Mr. Wilson.

We are not at the present moment sighing for some Power capable of enforcing its decrees; we are in very deep need of concentrations of thought; of "solutions" of an infinite number of detailed problems of economics ; problems which should be discussed by people not personally interested; which should be discussed regardless of geography and race prejudice; not on the basis of "I can build more ships, more aeroplanes, etc.," á la Xerxes and other historic detrimentals.

A meeting of international boilermakers or of international mine owners does not meet the requirements (vide Adam Smith, on conspiracy).